Separation and Sedition INSEPARABLE,

WHILST

DISSENTERS and COMMONWEALTHSMEN

Are Permitted to

Controll in all Publick Adminiſtrations

OF

CHURCH and STATE:

Being a farther Proſecution of the

Dutch Toleration:

In a LETTER to a

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

Cicero Pro P. Sextio

Neque eos in Laude poſitos videmus, qui incitarunt Populi animos ad Seditionem, aut qui Largitione cæcarunt mentes imperitorum.

Si non modo, Quando?

DEUT. 22. 10.

Thou ſhalt not plow with an Ox and an Aſs together.

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Dutch Toleration:

OR

CHURCH and STATE;

AS

DISSENTERS and COMMONWEALTHSMEN

WITH

TOLERATION and Sedition

Separation *and* Sedition *inſeparable*; *whilſt* Diſſenters, *and* Commonwealths-Men, *are permitted to Controll in all Publick Adminiſtrations of* Church *and* State.

SIR,

THE honour I was favour'd with by your requeſting my Account, and Sentiments of the *Dutch Toleration*, and Satisfaction you were pleas'd to expreſs thereupon; hath emboldened me to this further trouble of appealing to your own Experience and Obſervation as to the truth of what I then unhappily boded; that want of the ſame Care, and Method, when our *Legiſlative Power* reſolv'd upon the ſame courſe of a *General Indulgence*, is as likely to diſturb and ruine our *Ancient* frame of *Government*, as it hath been all along the grand Security of theirs: For now 'tis clear as the *Noonday-Sun*, That the *Liberty of Conſcience* which all the *Factious* ſo unanimouſly clamour'd for, and the only thing wherein they ever agreed, but the *Nations* ruine, hath no more ſtopp'd their mouths, than a Diſh of *Whip'd Cream* would gratify the craving *Stomach* of a Countrey *Hind*; but is rather look'd upon as a forc'd Favour, much ſhort of their Expectations, as well as Deſerts. Thus did I once before obſerve, when the ſame Set of People were too generouſly gratify'd with an *Univerſal Indempnity*, they ſeem'd to ſtudy no other return, for ſo great an obligation, than how to *Re-act*, with greater Security, thoſe very miſchiefs they beg'd to be *remitted*; whereas had there been a mixture of *Juſtice* with ſo great a maſs of *Mercy*, both together might have prov'd an effectual *Reſtraint*. In like manner now, the Conceſſion of their *Spiritual Freedom* being paſs'd without the leaſt *Reſtriction* of that *pragmatical intermedling humour*, ſo habitual to them in *Temporals*, hath added *fewel* to that *fire* which ſhould

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have been quite put out; made them more *impertinent*, *troublesom*, ay, and *dangerous* too, than ever, in all *Civil* Concerns, of what *quality* or *degree* ſoever: But more eſpecially in every *Election* of *National Repreſentatives*, where they continually appear as *buſie* as *Bees* in *Proſecution*, and as *angry* as *Waſps* when croſs'd with *Diſappointment*.

Now for confirmation hereof, no Perſon can be better appeal'd unto than your ſelf, having with much trouble and oppoſition actually found it ſo; which yet I cannot be ſorry for, becauſe it produc'd a full conviction of your *miſplac'd Candor*, and *Charitable Hopes*, that being gratified in what they had all along ſo earneſtly requeſted, we ſhould hear no more of them, or be importun'd any further by them; and upon this account your *Worſhip* paſs'd for a *well temper'd*, *moderate Gentleman*, with the moſt *zealous* pretenders of your *Neighbouring Corporation*; but when you ſaw ſo many *Vizards* thrown off, which went before for real *Faces*, when ſeveral in your *Magiſtracy*, who would have taken it very ill not to have been thought *ſtanch Churchmen*, went over directly to their ſeparate *Aſſemblies*; and others continu'd to halt between *God* and *Baal*, *Church* and *Conventicle*, as the ſpirit of *Giddineſs* and *Deluſion* led them; with all imaginable care taken to admit none but of the ſame *Leven* into every *Vacancy* as it fell; this not only *ſhock*'d your *belief*, but wrought a full *conviction*, That all their *fair pretences* were but a train of *ſecret Villanies*; and if you will not go along with them to the extremity of *Diſorder* and *Confuſion*, the moſt reaſonable and *condeſcending obligations* ſhould be ſo far from any thing of regard, as you are likelier to be plac'd among the rank of *moral Men*, who, according to a former *Syſtem* of theirs, (which tho much *ridicul'd* for, they have not wholly given over) were look'd upon as in a much worſe condition than the moſt *profligate wretch* in the World; the darling notion of their *extempore Calls*, and *Enthuſiaſtick Conceits*, having reſolv'd it much eaſier to jump from one *extreme* to another, than when in the *Vale*, gradually aſcend with that *Reverent* and *Godly Fear*, which according to our miſtaken principles, ought to attend every ſtep of approach to the *Divine Majeſty*, and obtain his *Gracious Acceptance* in the end: For at this rate they endeavoured to *Reprobate* you the three laſt *Elections*, the only times you appear'd, with all the *oppoſition* and *obloquy*, that *Faction* and falſe

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Suggestions could promote; and although you each time shamefully baffled them, yet hath it rather exasperated their perverse *spirits* than otherwise; such *Currish humours* buoying up their hopes with that *proverbial* assurance of having their *Day*, and whenever it comes, we need not doubt but *sufficient will be the evils thereof.* Yet herein I am confident your *good nature*, and publick *spirit*, is much more concern'd that you should not be alone in this Evil Treatment; but on the contrary, so many worthy *Gentlemen* among you have continually met with the like *Opposition*; not of *Sciences falsly*, but of *Sectaries, truly so call'd*; and too many others set aside by the *Clamours* and *Calumnies* of that gainsaying *Generation.*

But tho' our *Church-Dissenters* make the *Number* and the *Noise*, yet are they but so many Inferiour *Orbs*; The *State-Dissenter*, is the *Primum Mobile*, whereby all their *Retrograde Motions* are so *determin'd*, as to carry on the Main Design they have from the beginning projected; and cou'd they have manag'd themselves with any thing of *Temper* (which GOD be Prais'd, they never did, and I hope never will) their *Ascendency* might have continu'd longer; but when they discover'd themselves as insatiable as the *Horsleeches Daughter, cry'd Give, give*, till they came from the *Shirt* to the very *Skin*; the sense thereof, began to *rouse* the *Nation* out of that *Lethargick* Humour it had been sometimes possess'd with, made them Reflect a little, in whose hands they were, and what they were like to be brought to; that a *Common-wealth Ministry* in our *English Monarchy* (asking Pardon for so much boldness with our *Saviour's Simile*) is like *a piece of new Cloth on an old Garment*, it looks *beggarly* at best; and doth constantly break out into such *Rents*, as would have brought any *Nation* but ours, to *beggary*, long since; and if they be suffer'd to *patch* on as hitherto, thither it must come in the *End.*

Now, Sir, The Two foremention'd *Parties, Conventiclers* and *Common-wealth-men*, tho' much more Numerous in the many Sub-divisions among themselves, may be consider'd here, as one grand *Cancer* in the *Body Politick*; and tho' it rageth more or less, according to the *malignancy* of such *Humours* as feed it; and sometimes, as at present, may seem a little *stop'd*; yet unless more *Care* and *Application* be us'd, 'twill certainly break out again, and with improved *Anguish*, *Eat up* and *Consume* the

 whole,

whole, as that ſad Diſtemper is generally obſerved to do in the *Body Natural*. So that upon a *General Vein*, of what we have already *felt*, and may further juſtly *Fear*; Give me leave to Entertain you with theſe following *Remarques* upon their paſt and preſent *Deportment*.

Firſt, How much *Ground* they got, what great Encouragment they met with, at the beginning of our late *Revolution*.

Secondly, How little able they were to keep that Ground, by the no regard they ſhew'd, either to the *Peoples Eaſe*, or the *Nations Intereſt*: Yet notwithſtanding

Thirdly, How indefatigable they ſtill continue at *Elections*, and all ſuch *Party-making* Places, to oppoſe ſuch as have Vigourouſly appear'd in defence thereof, the *Peoples Eaſe*, and *Nations Intereſt*.

Fourthly, How inconſiſtent it is, with all the *Rules* of *Reaſon*, *Intereſt* and *Policy*, to permit the Publick *Defiances*, and Private *Underminings* of ſuch Experienc'd, implacable *Factions*; and not rather *Prohibit* them from having any thing to do, or concerning themſelves with the *Adminiſtration of Affairs*.

Firſt, How much *Ground* they got, what great Encouragement they met with, at the beginning of our late *Revolution*; the attempting whereof, was perhaps, as nice an Undertaking, as ever *Prince* did Enterpriſe: Whether we conſider the Variety of *Parties*, *Factions* and *Intereſts*, which muſt be oblig'd to come into him here; or the Proſpect of a Potent *Oppoſition*, both by *Sea* and *Land*, as well from hence, as the other ſide our *Coaſt*: But King *James*'s Unaccountable Prejudices for an Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman Superſtitions*, with the no Proſpect where he would ſtop, or of any *Moderation he would, or perhaps could uſe*, if at any time inclinable thereto (as a very good *Friend* of his, and *Faithful Adviſer*, many Years before told him) prejudiced the whole *Nation* as much againſt him, his *Perſwaſion* I mean (or rather the *Impoſition* of it; for had he not proſtituted that *Promiſe* ſo ſolemnly made at his Firſt coming to the *Crown*, That and his *Perſon*, would have remain'd inviolable) which upon the *Prince's Landing*, diſcover'd its ſelf to ſo high a Degree, as it became one *individual Mob*, from one end of the Land to the other, put every *Rank* and *Quality*, *Clergy* and *Layity*, *Male*-

Lord Chan. Clarendon's *Letter.*

Male and *Female*, in an equal *Ferment*, with the *Leathern* and *Blue Apron a Rabble*. Yet this might have been eaſily quell'd, or if let alone, would have fallen in courſe; but that many of his greateſt *Confidents* in *Civil* and *Military Affairs*, not without plauſible Exceptions againſt promoting ſo dangerous a *Bigotry*, either went off, or went over: This ſo much *diſpirited* his deſerted *Majeſty*, that he wou'd not hearken to the *Remains* of his *Army*, who *Generouſly* proffer'd to ſtand by him, and might have *ſhock'd* that *March* hitherto ſo proſperous; *Sic illum fata trahebant*, *Sic viſum Superis*; for doubtleſs it was from the *Sovereign diſpoſer* of all Things; he ſo tamely quitted the *Engliſh Field*, which ſoon after, paſs'd for his quitting the *Throne*.

The *King's* withdrawing, as it kept the *Military Sword* from being unſheath'd; ſo it gave occaſion to ſeveral *State-Conflicts*, very *Sharp*, tho' not *Bloody*. Somthing of *Government*, it was impoſſible we ſhou'd be without; and that the *Prince* was moſt proper to undertake the ſame, caus'd as little Debate; the main Queſtion was with what *Power* and *Title* of *Adminiſtration*: The few among us of true *Thought*, and *Solid Principles*, comparing the preſent, with paſt Times; ſadly Reflected upon that Curſed *Patricide*, with the numberleſs other unexpreſſible *Miſchiefs*, which ſo lately attended our *divided State*; and that too many of the ſame *Leven*, were concern'd herein; and deſign'd nothing more, than to drive on at the ſame *Confus'd Rate*: They conſider'd further, that the *Prince*, in a *Declaration* ſet forth at his firſt *Landing*, Solemnly *Proteſt'd*, his ſole Deſign, was to Correct the *Invaſions* upon our Old *Eſtabliſhment*, and ſet us Right there; and that muſt be acknowledg'd the moſt Juſt and Honourable *Allegation*; becauſe, what alone appear'd *above Board*. But the *Temptations* of a *Crown*, have been rarely withſtood, tho' when obtain'd the *Expectations* of each Party concern'd therein, have been as rarely anſwer'd. That it was here deſign'd, from the *Prince's* firſt ſetting forth, none that knew either *Men* or *Hiſtory*, did in the leaſt, doubt; and ſome thought they had good Reaſon to believe, it had been in *Projection* many Years before; for as the *Reſtleſs Factions* were always at Work there, in *De Witts Miniſtry*, to revive their former *Confuſions* here, upon the *Common-wealth Account*, ſo when his *Highneſs* obtain'd the *Command* of his *Anceſtors*, they continued the like *Addreſſes* to him, as the great *Patron* of *Li-*

berty and *Conſcience*, which not only every *Seditious* and *Schiſmatical Innovater*, pretended to be highly Invaded; but ſuch as had been proceeded againſt, at *Law*, for *ſhameful Immoralities*, and other *Unjuſt Acts*, were at the ſame *Cant*, and by all means, muſt be *Deliver'd too*; and the foremention'd conjecture is not without ſome further Confirmation, from an Account *Sir Will. Temple* gives in a *Letter* to one of our *Secretaries*, that diſcourſing with his *Highneſs*, upon ſomewhat, which it ſeems was not well *Reliſh'd*, he briskly reply'd, *They might know he was not without a Party in England*; but what theſe Gueſſers moſtly inſiſt upon, is the *Sycophantry* of a great *Miniſter*, who diverted *King James* from his aforemention'd wholſome *Reſolves*, and with a moſt *Perfidious forwardneſs*, promoted thoſe many Extravagant *Irregularities*, which inflam'd the *Nation* to the *Higheſt Degree*; and was the only Courſe to bring about what follow'd; and that he chang'd his *Religion*, to promote the Deſign, is little worth the mentioning: But 'tis a *ſtrong Confirmation*, that in a ſhort time, the *Penſion* his former *Maſter* ſetled upon him, not only continu'd, but likewiſe he was obſerv'd to be frequently behind the *Curtain* in moſt *Affairs* of *Moment*, and ſomtimes *ſtep'd* before, but not able to abide there long. He is lately gone to give that Account in another World, he cou'd never be brought to here; and ſince not ſooner, 'tis well now, leaſt his *Serpentine Subtilty* ſhould once more, *&c.*

The *Prince* entring upon this great *Truſt*, immediately ſummon'd a *Convention*, which as ſoon as come together, fell upon that grand *Debate*, *Whether the Throne was vacant?* A very weighty matter, and accordingly was ſtrongly argu'd in the *Houſe of Commons*; but in the end went for the *affirmative* by a great *plurality*; and the *Party* which prevail'd, diſcover'd too much of the *Fourty one Temper*, by *Printing* the *Names* of thoſe who Voted in the *Negative*, in humble imitation, of their *Poſting* the *Straffordians*. With the *Lords* it went in the *Negative* by a ſmall *plurality*, which occaſion'd in courſe ſome *Conferences* between the *two Houſes*; but ſome *Lords withdrawing*, and others, tho' under great *indiſpoſitions of Body*, venturing forth, in a cauſe they wiſh'd ſo well to, turn'd the *ſcale*, and our *New Monarchs were immediately Proclaim'd.*

This Sir, I mention not by way of *information*, for ſo late a *Tranſaction* (and ſo dearly paid for) cannot be forgotten in ma-

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ny years to come. But only to continue the *Thread* of my *Discourse*; and shew by what *Obligations*, a certain *Set of Men* came to be most *confided in*, and *consequently*, imploy'd in the management of *Affairs*; for tho' the generality of such in each *House*, as had oppos'd this new *Establishment*, when carried, *unfeignedly submitted* thereto; (and perhaps the rather, to have somewhat of a *Check*, upon such as they suspected wou'd not have an equal regard for the *common good*) and some of them were in *Complement*, or upon other *regards* taken into busines; whilst others cou'd not with decency, be remov'd from the *Posts* they were already *possess'd of*; yet the *Current* generally ran (besides those *Exiles*, whether *forc'd* or *voluntary*, already mention'd) for such as had discover'd themselves very uneasy under *Monarchy* in the two *precedent Reigns*; with many *actually engag'd* in, or *descended* from such as were its *ruin* the *Reign* before; to be sure *Charles* the *Second*, having first *disoblig'd*, and then *dissolv'd* the best *Parliament*, I will not say *King*, but *Kingdom* ever had; ran such a dangerous risque with the Three next, that in that last at *Oxon*, the *Crown* sat so tottering on his *Head*, as then he was convinc'd, nothing but the *old slighted Party* and *Principle* cou'd preserve him; their Treatment of the *Abhorrers* was so *Arbitrary* and *Illegal*, as nothing they ever complain'd of from *Court* cou'd out do it; and to *Vote* it a kind of *Treason*, so far as a *Vote* could make it, *to furnish the King with Money, tho' to buy Bread, upon any Branch of his Revenue*, was no less an affront to him, than the other an oppression to the *Subject*; and gave him as just grounds to suspect they design'd once more to *overturn* the *State*, as they his design upon *Religion*; wherein he was never so *Zealous* as to venture his *All* upon that Account; but if it cou'd *creep* in by a *general Liberty*, which was more than once endeavour'd, it would have given him a double satisfaction, both in obliging that *Perswasion*, which amidst his great *indifferency*, did most affect him, and making the *Dissenters*, his grand *Properties*, in bringing it about: But those *old Birds* would not be caught with such *Chaff*; and truly with me, it can pass for no less than an *Infatuation*; or in plain terms, a *Judgment* from *Heaven*; that the *Two Sons* should really endeavour to introduce, what the *Nation* so *falsly*, and with most groundless *Calumny*, charged upon the *Father*, to his *Ruine* indeed; but therein their E-

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ternal *Infamy*; and whatever our *Republicans* have clamour'd upon this Account, it doth not at all seem agreeable to the *Divine Oeconomy*, that they who so *perfidiously* laid a *false charge* at first, should be thought worthy of giving a just *Redress* in the End; indeed half an Eye might discover, that tho' the dread of a *Spiritual Usurpation* was the pretence, the *subversion* of our *Temporal Monarchy* was their *grand design*; between both which, notwithstanding two *strange Revolutions*, this poor *Kingdom* hath been continually *Haras's'd* and *Allarm'd*, without any thing of what could be call'd a through fix'd *Settlement*; and if more care be not taken to suppress those *Turbulent unquiet Spirits*, can never be expected; which gives some good Men too just Ground to fear, that we have an *old Score* still to *answer for*; and upon that account, *The anger of the Lord is not yet turned away, but his Hand stretched out still.*

Yet to clear themselves from any thing of *Common-wealth-Intrigue*, some of the *Party* have alledg'd in Print, how forward they were in setting the *Crown* upon his *late Majesty's Head*, and with so much regard to the *Monarchy*, as considering his *Royal Consort*, 'twas the smallest *stretch* could be made; a *stretch* therefore it is acknowledg'd, and tho' but an *Inch* now, it may be an *Ell* next time; nay, if some judicious *Observers* are not mistaken, but for an Interposition of *Fate*, there would have been such a *stretch* attempted *last Summer*, as might have *stretch'd us all in Pieces*: In the mean while, their point is so far gain'd, as to have made a *Precedent*; and how soon *Precedents* become *Laws* with us every one knows: In Confirmation whereof, give me leave to Entertain you with this passage I had from a sure Hand: *John Wildman*, a curs'd *Agitator* with the *Army*, in promoting the *Murder* of our *Royal Martyr*; and ever after, so profess'd a *Common-wealth's Man*, as 'twas with much hazard he escap'd *Cromwells Clutches*, when he *ap'd* the *Monarch*; but was easily included in the *general Indempnity* which follow'd, and so liv'd, tho' in continual Mischief, to have a considerable *stroak* in this *Revolution*; which when setled, his *Confidents* of the *Republican Gang*, upbraided him for *betraying their Cause*; never could there be such an Opportunity of setting up a *Common-wealth*, according to the *Dutch Way*, and making the *Prince Head thereof*; he reply'd, *Rome was not Built in a Day*; *the Prince would be King*;

but

But however the Succeſſion was interrupted, and the Peoples Right ſo far aſſerted, as to have the Choice ſolely devolv'd upon them, which for the future might be exerted at pleaſure: And had they continu'd *Trump*, no one knows how the *Cards* might have been *plaid*; as I ſaid, there was ſtrange *Shuffling* among them, upon the proſpect of a *Change*, and how little they *reliſh'd* that regard paid to the *Succeſſion* in her *preſent Majeſty*; tho' *ſilent* as to words, their *ſullen ſour looks* expreſly declar'd.

We are next to obſerve how they behav'd themſelves in the *management of Affairs*, which none were thought more proper to be truſted with; where an old *Proverb* was truly verified, *Change of Condition*, will much *change Mens Tempers*; in former *Reigns* none ſo ſparing of the *Nations Treaſure* as they, *ſuſpicious* of every one who *finger'd a Farthing*, and moſt ſevere when the leaſt *imbezelment* was diſcover'd: Whereas to their new *Monarch* they became ſo *profuſely Liberal*, as had *New-Caſtle Coal-pits* been a *Potoſi*, they would ſcarce have anſwer'd the *ways* found out of *expending*. 'Tis an uſual *Maxim* of new acquired *Governments*, to ſit ſtill and look about them, to ſtand upon their Guard where any *proſpect of diſturbance*, but otherwiſe, rather free the People from former *Impoſitions*, than continually *load* them with freſh, and never before known-of *Exactions*. On the contrary, theſe our *Hot-ſpurs*, not only paid the *Dutch* the full charge of the *Deſcent*, with no ſmall conſideration to themſelves; but were immediately for entring upon a *War*, and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, as we muſt lead the *Van*, become *Principals* before all others, tho' *ten times* more concern'd than our ſelves: One brisk *Vote* of theirs againſt *the growing power of France*, would go half way in bringing it down, and a ſingle *Summers Campaign* under ſo great a *General* perfectly compleat the buſineſs: For thus, *Sir*, you know we were engag'd, by our own folly and forwardneſs, in a *Ten years War*, which after the expence of more than *Half an hundred Millions*, with a *Debt* of *Twenty* more beſides, ended in a very indifferent *Peace*, and that follow'd by ſuch a *huggar-muggar Treaty of Partition*, as hath brought us into the ſame *War* again; which 'tis to be fear'd, many younger then you and I, may never ſee an end of.

Not that this *Money* went all abroad, no nor to the *Publick* here at home; theſe *zealous Patriots* of the *Commonweal*, that is, the *Peoples welfare*, diſcover'd ſo much ſelfiſhneſs in their whole

Conduct, as the many *falſe*, and other moſt aggravating *Clamours* againſt ſuch as had been formerly imploy'd, were really practis'd by *themſelves*, and *Dependents*, which as it viſibly appear'd to every one who had been *in* or *underſtood* buſineſs; ſo there need no other proof, than the ſeveral *Artifices* uſed to *ſtave* off the *Examination of Publick Accounts*; the apprehenſion whereof was much more terrible to their thoughts, than the *Day of Judgment*. To be ſure between both, the *Expences* every year advanc'd to ſuch a prodigious heighth, as little elſe than *Ways and Means* could fall under conſideration through a whole *Winters Seſſion*.

One *Remark* further give me leave to make, tho' being no other, than a conceit of my own, 'tis wholly ſubmitted to your better judgment: I always ſuſpected there was ſomething more than what appear'd above board, in their great forwardneſs to engage every branch of the *Crowns Revenue* upon ſome *Fund* or other for *ſeveral years to come*, and when expir'd, the ſame *Occaſion* will continue the ſame *Obligation*, from *Generation* to *Generation*, as our *Debts* are like to do; the *Exigency* of *Affairs* I know will paſs for a plauſible pretence, but may there not be a *Cauſa latens*, of bringing the *Monarchy* to have nothing can be call'd its own, but wholly to depend upon their *bountiful Liberality*, which is as likely to *Ebb* and *Flow* as the *Sea-waves*, or *Peoples humours*. Neither can it be otherwiſe preſum'd than from their *Advice*, that King *William* remitted the *Chimney Money* at his firſt entring upon the *Government*; which the *Clarkenwell Cant* made a *Pulpit-prate* of, as an *unparallell'd Bounty*; without ever conſidering 'twas but ſome *drops* thrown in, where many *Buckets full* were taken out: Nay, the the thing it ſelf in effect, tho' taken from the *Crown*, was in a ſhort time after return'd with improvements, upon the *Nation*, in *Window Money*, and ſeveral other concomitant *Impoſitions*. 'Tis ſaid indeed his late *Majeſty* declar'd, That *the Crown ſhould not be the worſe for his wearing*; yet this, and ſeveral other inſtances may be given wherein it prov'd quite otherwiſe, and that He as well as moſt *Princes*, could not avoid having many things repreſented through *Miſts* and *falſe Glaſſes*: But what caus'd the moſt acceptable *Blind*, was that plentiful proviſion they made for him in the *Civil Liſt*, which much exceeded the full *Revenue* of many former, till the two precedent *Reigns*;

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yet considering how highly Expensive this last Age is grown, beyond any thing of foregoing times, were a due regard had to the *Ancient Hospitality* of our *Court*, with the many other much more chargeable *Supports* of its *State*, and *Grandeur*, *Attendants*, *Ministers*, &c. might bear but a requisite proportion: altho' you must be sensible had the same *Party* been as *predominant* when her *Majesty*'s *Assignment* was made, they would have discovered much of the forementionʼd *Ebbing humour*, in a precarious *Retrenchment*; for that one of them, *tho' only to show his teeth*, movʼd for a much *smaller Summ*, and that only to be allowʼd from *year to year*, which whenever compassd, whereto their endeavours will never be wanting, our *Monarch* must make as ill a *Figure*, as the *Member* who made this *Motion*.

But these *Statesmen* could never have been so successful in the advance of themselves, had not the *Dissenters* given their assistance; to whom any thing of a new *Revolution* is so natural, as would you oblige them to purpose, it must be by promoting one every year, for there chiefly appears their *Mob Zeal*, their *Mob Strength*, ay, and their *Mob Mischief* too, altogether as agreeable as Fire to a *Salamander*; but to see their *old Friends* once more at the *Steerage*, what might they not promise themselves? what Advantages to the *Good Old Cause* might they not jointly make? And this the grand *Managers* of that great Affair very well understood, and made their Court accordingly, which they were not a little proud of: Mr. *Baxter* telling us, that *Monsieur Dickvelt*, a considerable Statesman, *&c.* among other weighty matters, gave privately *great Assurance to the Nonconformists, that they should find great Respects from the Prince when occasion offerʼd; and that they might be satisfied he was no friend to Rigour and Severity in Religious matters, but a great Friend to Liberty of Conscience*: And in confirmation hereof, the *Prince* in his *Declaration* professes how ready he would be to *cover and secure all Persons from Persecution upon the account of Religion, even Papists themselves not excepted, provided they live peaceably under the Government*, which as long as they can have their humour, may be complyʼd with; but that humour must be allowʼd to pull down others, as well as exalt themselves, and then how can it be called peaceable?

So soon therefore as the *Prince* became King, and *Convention* a *Parliament*, this Affair was one of the first under *Debate*, and an *Act pass'd, For exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws.* The *Leading* Men of the *Party* would have had it at large for a *General Toleration*, without any notice taken of precedent *Penalties*, and some who knew very well how matters were manag'd at that time, affirm, they proffered no less than an *Hundred thousand Pounds* in order thereunto, yet could not prevail; however the *Common Herds*, who understood none of their private *Intrigues*, were abundantly satisfied; the rather, for that without the least *Restraint*, of a boundless Freedom in all other things.

A *Comprehension* was likewise then in agitation, wherein a *Court* Party appear'd very earnest, and a *Bill* pass'd the *Lords* upon that account; but coming down to the *Commons*, after a serious *Debate*, it was resolv'd his *Majesty* should be desir'd to *Summon a Convocation*, as the most competent *Judges* in *Cases* of that *Nature*; which was accordingly done; and a *Commission issued* forth to several *Divines* that they might prepare matters, or rather let them know aforehand what was expected at their hands: But neither did the *Commission* come to any final *Resolution*; nor could the *Convocation* be induc'd, (tho' many Artifices were us'd) to throw down the *pale* of our *Church* for letting such *in*, as had done her so much mischief whilst *without*; neither did the *main Body of Dissenters* desire any such thing, but rather protested against it; only Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bates*, and three or four more, who would be thought *moderate Presbyterians*, tho' the very term speaks a *contradiction*, appeared for it, or rather were put upon it, by some who affected the same *denomination* in our *Church*; which was indeed a *popular phrase*, and upon that consideration, to popular Spirits an acceptable *Character*; but as it was much question'd on the one hand, whether even *Richard* and *Baxter* would ever agree upon any fix'd terms to come in, or keep up to them when agreed upon; so wanted there not Reasons to doubt, that their *Abettors* studied more to gratify their own *humours*, and *Education-Prejudices*, than any real advantage, to what was pretended their *sole Regard.*

Now being upon this Subject, I cannot forbear to intimate, what to you and many others at first will seem a *Paradox*, but to my knowledge is certainly true; That this Project of *Comprehension* was primarily contriv'd by Persons within the *Church*, and more especially for their own satisfaction, tho' like the *Wise Men* of this *World*, that is truly *Cunning*, the *Dissenters* were thought the propereſt *Plea* for bringing it about. To let you into this, you muſt know, that during our *Twenty years* of *Licentiouſneſs*, and *Confuſion*, ſeveral *Ingenious young Men* were bronght up in the *Univerſities*, who when they came from under their *Tutors Documents*, and *Governours Arbitrary Impoſitions*, to their own *Management*, thought they might exert their own *Liberty*, as well as they had done, and *ſhake* off thoſe *Shackles* of *Presbyterian Rigor*, and *Independant Anarchy*, which had moſt miſerably *Shock'd* all true *Religion*, and very nigh *all true Sence* with it: To which purpoſe they began with a *Free Philoſophy*, and ſo proceeded to a *Free Divinity* too. This was highly reſented by the *old Sequeſtration Incumbents* who were plac'd there on purpoſe to eſtabliſh the *Geneva Model*, and had theſe *youngſters* plac'd there under them by *Parents* generally of the ſame *Fraternity*, to be *diſciplin'd* in, and then *promote* the ſame *ill-natur'd Principles*. On the other ſide, thoſe few *old Churchmen*, who had made a ſhift to ſtay there; and ſome young ones, who having been ſo Educated, ſo continu'd, fell in with them, and ſet them right as to many *Privileges*, which otherwiſe might have been ſomewhat *prejudicial* to what follow'd.

Thus, Sir, things ſtood at that great *Turn*, in the *Year* 60, which all *Parties* ſo Univerſally *turn'd* into; that 'twas our aſtoniſhment, who were Born about Twenty Years before, how any thing came to be *turn'd out*; to be ſure, none *turn'd* in faſter than the Perſons now diſcours'd of, and cou'd give no other ground of ſuſpition, but by out-doing others; for violent heats in any Matter, can never laſt long; which made ſome ſuſpect from the beginning, what ſoon after fell out: For the *old Sequeſtred Heads* returning with ſome of their old *Fellows*, ſet up the *old Church Diſcipline* and *Lyturgy* which indeed, was moſt readily comply'd with; tho' ſometimes in private Diſcourſe, they wou'd complain of too great a *Reſtraint*, and ſeem'd better to like their former *preconceiv'd Firms*, or *Extempore Conceits*,

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as their *Parts* or *Assurances* enabled them, than be wholly ty'd up to those of the *Church*; there was a *Liberty* likewise: they had taken in some points of *Doctrine*, which would not now be so easily admitted of, from whom they would take occasion to be witty; sometimes upon the *old Mumpsimus Doctors*, as too much wedded to their *old Notions*. But this was only among themselves and Confidents; they never discover'd so much in publick discourse, till King *Charles*'s Unhappy *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conscience*, upon the First *Recess* of the *Parliament*, after they had pass'd the *Act of Uniformity*: This these *Gentlemen* immediately took hold of, and became the First *Trimmers* between *Church and Dissenters*, alledging upon every occasion, that if the former would set her *Pale* a little wider; admit of a greater *Latitude to large Soul'd free-Spirited Men*; the most considerable among them would come in, and make one *intire Body*. Now tho' the *Parliament*, as soon as they next met, forc'd the *Declaration* to be revok'd, as knowing it came from a *Cabal of Romanists at Somerset House*; yet the forementioned Gentlemen, carried on their *Conceit* with wish'd for success; several of them being come up to the *City*, pass'd there for Persons of great *Moderation*; and were no less acceptable at *Court* for their as great *Indifferency*; which might by degrees let in what was design'd at the *Back Door*, if no occasion serv'd of forcing a passage; but *King James* fondly attempting this Course, and failing therein, gave a real advance to those, who in very inconsiderable Circumstances, if at all cou'd be thought advantageous on their side; for tho' the whole *Nation* were equally desirous and satisfy'd with the *Deliverance*, yet were they not equally satisfy'd with the *Administration* which follow'd; some of greatest *Eminency* in all the several *Orders of our Church*, as well as other *Noble* and *worthy Gentlemen*; looking upon their Precedent *Oaths of Allegiance*, and perhaps some other, both *Natural* and *Religious Obligations*, as *Indissoluble*, could not induce themselves to the least thought of a *Violation*; and doubtless, if we ever had any Persons standing off, upon a sincere *Principle of Conscience*, it was here; yet neither *Comprehension nor Toleration*, cou'd take place for them; but an occasion taken thereby for our Men of *Latitude*, to have the whole *Field* before them, and make a full Experiment, how far the *new Models* would go beyond our *old Precedents*; for tho'

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not able to carry *Comprehension* for their *Brethren without*, yet the *whole Church* was *Cull'd* for *Divines* of the same *Comprehensive Spirit within*, to supply all vacant places, both of the *Living* and *Dead* (some of which, went out upon the *Bartholomew Act*; and had they continu'd so, the loss had been only to themselves) which how well they have manag'd, what deep understanding they have shown of the Church, and true Affection to it, I am sure hath not escap'd your Observation. Nay there was a *Commission* sometime in very *trusty Hands*, to dispose all the other *Church Dignities*, to Persons of like *Dispositions*: GOD be praised, 'twas not thought fit that should be continu'd.

This last Story, Sir, tho' too long, is but the *Contents* of a *proportionable Chapter*, wherewith I fill'd several *Sheets of Paper*, when the Business was so warmly attempted, being *A History of Comprehension, with the true Origin of this Laodicean Latitude, both in Clergy and Laity*; but finding those without could not get in, and those within, Exasperated at the *Disappointment*; one more especially, who is very *hot* in every thing he engageth in, and being *hotly* incens'd against me upon another account, I laid aside all thoughts of troubling them or the World, with that *unhappy Subject*. But finding the *Controversy* reviv'd, that Mr. *Baxter*, in his *tedious Life*; and his *Abridger young Calumny*, *Calamy* I should say, but the words have as much affinity in *sence* as *sound*, with *Three Questions of present Importance*, &c. and some other *Pieces* of the same tendency, have taken a great deal of Pains to perswade the World afresh, into a belief of their great *Integrity*, their great *Abilities*; and consequently, how much the *Church and They*, were injur'd, by not taking them in: If GOD Bless me with *Life* and *Health*, next *Summer*, and none else undertake it; I will engage to show how false their *Allegations* are; how *faithless* their *Protests*; how little *Concord* there is among themselves, but in opposing others; and consequently, no hopes they should ever Center in Unity and Peace: To say no more, Sir, whoever looks into their *deportment* for these more than *Sixty Years* last past, must conclude them such a *perverse Generation of Men*, that unless they can absolutely have their own *Wills*, no *Kindness* could ever *oblige*, nor any *Condescension* satisfy.

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The *Convocation* refuſing to comply in this *darling Deſign*, whether not thought worthy of *Buſineſs*, or no *Buſineſs* worthy of them, continu'd a *Cypher* for ſeveral Years following, *met* and *ajourn'd* without any more to do; which gave many juſt grounds of ſuſpition, that 'twas ſecretly reſolv'd, they ſhould be thus gradually wearied out, and become, as it were, *diſſolv'd*, by *diſcontinuance*; and were herein confirm'd the more for that one *Parliament*, there were no *Writs of Summons* ſent to one *Province*. Whereupon ſome *Ingenious Perſons*, *Lay* as well as *Clergy*, preſum'd humbly to *Remonſtrate* the ill Conſequences of neglecting ſo *Ancient* and *uſeful* an *Inſtitution*; eſpecially in an Age wholly given over to *Faction* and *Schiſme*, on the one Hand, with *Atheiſme* and *Irreligion* on the other; and ſince the *High Commiſſion-Court* was diſſolv'd, there is none but this left, which can properly take notice of thoſe groſs *Enormities*; and this *Free Repreſentation* carried ſo much of clear *Conviction* with it, that theſe four laſt *Parliaments*, we have had as many *Convocations*, and yet to as little purpoſe, as if they had never met, not being able hitherto, to get over the *Threſhold*, by reaſon of ſome *Preliminaries* the *Upper Houſe* Claim; which if conceded to, the *whole Body of our Inferiour Clergy*, muſt continue under as ſevere a *Pædagogy*, as ſome of them in their *youth* met with from a *Neighbouring* School; muſt neither *go out*, *nor in*, without *asking leave*. But begging Pardon for ſo mean a *Compariſon*, I will make ſome amends by one as high as it can be carried; for this conteſt hath often brought to my thoughts, that mighty *Buſtle* in the *Council of Trent*, when the *Biſhops* indeavour'd to retrieve the *Jus Divinum* of their *Order* from the *Popes* appropriating it to himſelf; who pretended that *Power* was originally committed ſolely to him, and from him to all the Reſt; ſo that he alone was *Chriſts Biſhop*: all others the whole World through, had their *Powers* delegated from him. Now this was highly exclaim'd againſt, as a moſt groundleſs and unreaſonable *Uſurpation*, and 'twas earneſtly mov'd for a *Redreſs*: Yet the *old Vulpone* ſo craftily manag'd Matters by his *Papal Prelates*, and other *Mercenary Dignitaries*, as they were term'd, that the Debate was let fall, as all other Attempts againſt his many boundleſs *Aſſumings*, both *Temporal* and *Spiritual* (the chief end of *Summoning that Council*) were fruſtrated in the ſame *manner*, and by the ſame *Means*; however, Abſtract the

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Man from the *Christian*, the *Prince* from the *Prelate*, and nothing of greater consequence could be contended for: Whereas this Contest among us (which hath caused as many bulky *Volumes* in Two or Three Years, as that other did in Forty) is so disputable as to the *Pretence*, so prejudicial to the *Church's* true Interest, if as pretended; and withal so insignificant, of no advantage to the *Pretenders*; as their *old Conclave Policy* would never have stood out in so trival an Affair; yet far be it to think there should be any thing here of *Fanatick Obstinacy*; so that we are not without hopes his more temperate *Reign*, instead of the *Dissenters*, may produce a *Coalition* between the *Two Houses* of *Convocation*.

Secondly, We are next to show, how little able they were to keep their ground, by the little or no regard shown, either to the *Peoples* Ease, or *Nations true Interest*, that the Arts of acquiring *Power*, and managing it, when acquir'd, are very different; all true *Politicians* unanimously acknowledge, tho' these of ours were too *dull*, or too *Covetous*, to consider so much. In a dangerous *Storm*, every *Passenger* will be easily induc'd to throw all over board for their own Preservation; but should the *Master* come to them on shoar, and demand what remain'd there, for his saving advice on *Shipboard*, 'twou'd be look'd upon not only as unreasonable, but most extravagantly insolent; and therefore 'tis all *Cant* and *Nonsence*, to alledge we cannot give too much for so great a *Deliverance*, where our *Religion*, and consequently very *Souls*, were at Stake; tho' indeed, not only *Estate*, but *Life* too, if occasion requires, must be Sacrifis'd upon that Account; yet neither are to be parted with, when the end may be attain'd upon far easier Terms; and they generally, who first made this *Plea*, were so far from setting an Example, as 'twas rather with a Design to make themselves thereby; altho' it must be acknowledg'd, the *English Nation* never parted with their *Money* so frankly, upon any Account whatsoever, within the *Records* of *History*; Three, Four, Five *Millions per Annum*, Sums never heard of before, were rather boasted than complain'd of, as an instance how *inexhaustible* our *Nation* is; and 'tis no small Happiness, that all, but such as promoted it before, still continue both *willing* and *able* to comply therewith. Neither indeed was it the Sums we were at any time concern'd about; but their *miss-employment*, with a no groundless suspi-

tion that what was now freely given as *neceſſary*, might come by degrees to be taken in courſe, forc'd upon us when no juſt occaſion requir'd. For thus, Sir, you may have obſerv'd the firſt ground of Jealouſy which appear'd above board, was the *Bill for a general Naturalization* of all *Proteſtants* whatſoever; which thoſe few of the *Country Party*, tho' at that time no more than One in Four, manag'd with ſo much concern, as indeed it was an high one, that it put not only the whole *Houſe*, but *Nation* too, into an *Allarm*, made them now at length Reflect what kind of *Patriots* ſuch muſt prove, who would promote ſuch *pernitious Projects*; and by this means, the *Debate* was ſuſpended till a *fuller Houſe*, and then the *Bill thrown out*; how the *Queſtion* was put there, I cannot tell; but with me it ſtands thus, *Whether we ought to have a ſtanding Army of* 40000 Engliſh *Men, all Born in* France *and* Germany, *and brought up generally to nothing but the Sword?* About this time likewiſe it was, that a *Bill for frequent Parliaments* would not paſs the *Royal Aſſent*, which none doubted to proceed from the ſame wholſome *Adviſers*; and as little, with a Proſpect of a greater *Majority* in the preſent, than they could be ſecure of in any to come; and thus indeed their *Scotch Brethren* did, would never venture their *Convention*, hurried together in a *Fury*; for a *free Election* by Men in their right *Wits*; but by good *Providence*, the *freak* was ſooner abated among us, and that Deſign of a *Long*, perhaps to a *Rump Parliament*, rendred *abortive*.

The *Forfeited Eſtates* in *Ireland* were likewiſe ſo faſt diſpos'd of, to *Foreign* and *Engliſh Favourites, Male and Female*; whereof, One had an *Extravagant Share*, that the *Parliament* were forc'd to interpoſe for ſome part thereof, to help a little towards their great *Charge* in *Subjecting* that *Kingdom*, which was much grumbled at by thoſe deep *Swallows*; and occaſion'd as brisk a *Reflection* from ſuch as dar'd to ſpeak, that whatever *Will. the Conqueror did to the enſlaving and utter Ruin of the Poor* Saxons: *From Will. the Deliverer quite other things were expected.* What a *Buſtle* too were the honeſt *Welch Gentlemen* forc'd upon, to prevent the ſole *Remains* of their *Ancient* and *Royal Principality* from being carried off by a *Dutch Favourite*; and thoſe few *Branches* which remain'd to the *Crown* here in *England*, were ſeverely lop'd off; and that by ſome, to an impoveriſh-

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ment of the very *Hoſpitalls*: But then finding the Land fell ſhort, there was a ſet of them turn'd *Pyrates*, that is, *Commiſſion'd and went Sharers*, as Fellow *Free-booters* with thoſe declared *Enemies* to all *Publick Commerce*, *Peace and Juſtice*; yet was there a *Land-Pyracy* too deſign'd, which would have turn'd to a moſt deteſtable Account; for had not *Providence* ſignally diſcover'd, the *Perjuries* and other unparallell'd *Villanies*, which carried on the *Cheſhire Plot*, many an honeſt Gentleman throughout the *Kingdom* would have been *Robb'd*, not only of his *Veſſel*, his *Eſtate*, but his *Life* alſo. And ſince we are upon *Plots*, by which ſide ſoever lay'd (for doubtleſs there were by both) give me leave to remarque how groſly partial they were as to the *Habeas Corpus Act*; which when they were upon the Ploting ſtrain, muſt take place in every particular, however manifeſt their Villanies were, but was now ſuſpended from *Six Months* to *Six Months*, to the *Reſtraint* of ſeveral *Worthy* and *Innocent Perſons*, as appear'd by their being *diſcharg'd* at laſt, without any *Charge* brought againſt them; and without the leaſt conſideration of the vaſt *Expences* they had charg'd themſelves withal; neither was it our *Liberty* alone, they thus made bold with: You know how they took away the *Life* of a *Brave Gentleman*, by *Bill of Attainder*, when not to be done by any *Courſe at Law*; and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, as ſeveral *Prelates* were prevail'd upon, to render themſelves *uncanonical* in order to that *Bloody buſineſs*. But to confine my ſelf, otherwiſe this *Letter* would ſwell into a *Volume*, ſhould I deſcend to the numberleſs *Exorbitancies* of this *Commonwealth Miniſtry*, which occaſion'd ſome to fancy them a *Committee of the Old Rump* under our *New King*; and ſince, according to their known *Maxim* and conſtant *Allegation*, a *King can do no harm*; but if any thing falls out otherwiſe than well, either his *Evil Counſellors* advis'd it, or ſhou'd have advis'd the contrary; ſo that whatever *Clamours* have been made as to former *Reigns* (and indeed they, and their *Party*, have all along made the *Clamour*) it can ſcarce paſs for a *Queſtion* with any Man of Senſe, whether ever *Engliſh Monarch was ſo ill Advis'd?*

Thirdly, Having by theſe, and many ſuch like unjuſtifiable practiſes, worn out their *Vizard*; made it ſo manifeſt, as half an Eye might diſcover, 'twas the *Intereſt of themſelves, and Party* they perſu'd, whereto the *Common-wealth* was in all things made

ſubſervient: The *After-Game* reſolv'd upon, was to compaſs by *Power* and *Number*, what fair pretences could no longer bring about; and ſince the attempt fail'd of perpetuating that *Parliament*, wherein they had ſo great an *Aſcendant*, try whether by *Frequent Elections*, they might not ſo weary out their *Opponents*, as to get ſuch another. And really if we conſider the intereſt of the many *Factions*, and *induſtry* us'd in managing them, it look'd very *threatning*; yet ſince they fail'd in all their *Efforts*, we may raiſe from their *Premiſſes*, this certain *Concluſion*, *That the true Church and Monarchical Party, if care be taken to keep the People in their right Wits*, will at any time turn the *Scale* againſt thoſe many *Legions* of perverſe *Spirits*, which are always at work, either by open *force* to *deſtroy*, or *ſecret Stratagem*, to undermine thoſe *Ancient Eſtabliſhments*; for doubtleſs, we have ſeen the utmoſt, both of their *ſtrength and Policy*, and may with juſt grounds hope, their *Muſter Rolls* will never be half ſo full; for which reaſon, it may yield ſome ſatisfaction, to take a view of theſe *ſcatter'd Forces*, which when together appear'd ſo *formidable*. To begin with the *Court*, that intereſt was wholly theirs, having ſo great an influence there, as to remove whoever they took to be diſaffected, and tho' none had more violently declaim'd againſt that new Mode of *Cloſſeting*, yet to ſerve their own turn, it muſt now paſs for a *Royal Regard*; All concern'd in the *Money Affair*, the only *gainful Trade* then on Foot, were wholly at their *Devotion*, with an equal regard, according to that plain *Proverb*, of *clawing one another*; where if we conſider the vaſt *Sums* rais'd, and Sundry ways of raiſing them, not only the *Exchequer*, but whole *Exchange*, muſt be of their *Retinue*, and make a more numerous *Train*, than ever follow'd *Great Men* with us; but when they led *Armies*, nay, even the *Gentlemen of the Blade* paid here a very *officious Deference*; for they that *Command* the *Purſe*, *Command* all it ſupplies. And while we are among theſe *Money Mongers*, the *Superfetation of a new* Eaſt-India *Company*, muſt have an eſpecial regard, becauſe they ſeem'd raiſed on purpoſe to promote this *Intrigue of party-making Elections*; or otherwiſe, in acknowledgment to thoſe that rais'd them (with the aggravation of *Ingratitude*, to that of great *Injuſtice*, towards the many *Services of the Old*,) ran through moſt of the *Factious Corporations*, and *Beggarly Bourroughs* in the *Kingdom*, bidding *Money for Votes*

Votes as publickly, as their *Factors* do abroad for *Spices*; and tho' this fell under a just Resentment in your *House*, and something was done *in terrorem*, yet in several places the same persons have been chosen, and the *Choosers* think themselves injur'd, if they may not make the best of their *Market*; *inter nos*, Sir, should this Course be continu'd, how likely is it for the *Kingdom* to come by degrees to an *Inch of Candle Auction*, where the *highest Bidder carries all.*

But all those aforemention'd, were only so many *Advance Parties*, who led the way indeed, and made the first *Attacque*, but would never have ventur'd so far without full assurance of being seconded by that *main Body of Dissenters*; neither could their confidence fail them in that case, for tho' their several *Legions* are as different from one another, as the *Colours of our City Regiments*, and were the common Enemy down, would be together by the Ears as formerly; but till then, their *word* is, *neither against small nor great, but the Church of* England; the *Crown* they mean too, but that they know will be suppos'd. So that whoever falls under this *Character*, of never coming within the *Walls of a Church*, unless to qualify himself by an *Occasional Communion* to pull it down, makes a precious Member, the work must needs prosper in such hands; no Man like him for a *Representative of their Body*. There is another Party which go along with these, of a strange *Amphibious kind*, call'd *Church-Whiggs*, who in discourse, will scorn a *Conventicle*, and are never known to come among them there, yet otherwise are the greatest Abettors of *Conventiclers* in their *Votes*, not only go along with, but *Head* them too, and are ready to break *Friendship* with all their *Neighbours*, who will not do the same. These *Gentlemen* sure must have some Notion of a *State Comprehension*-Project to reconcile *Crown* and *Common-wealth*, as those others *Covenant*, and *Commonprayer*, which brings me with much regret, to this one more surprising Remark, That several of our *Clergy*, even to the *Highest Order*, should appear for, and promote the same interest with these many inveterate Factions, and to prove themselves truly descended from their *Old Puritan and Presbyterian Progenitors*, continue the same malicious way of *popular Reproaches*, by giving all that will not run into the same excess of *Fanatick Bigottry*, something they would perswade the *Rabble* to take for a *bad Name*, term'd *High Church*.

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The truth of it is, That of *Arminian*, in King *Charles* I. Time, was altogether as innocent, yet ſo repreſented and clamor'd againſt, by thoſe *foul-mouth'd Beautifeus*, that with ſome others as falſe and *groundleſs Cavils*; they promoted the Ruine of many *Hundreds*, to ſay ſome *Thouſands* would not be a ſtretch, of the moſt *Worthy*, *Able Divines*, ours, or perhaps any other *Church* ever had, and with them of the *Church* its ſelf. Now ſince their *ſtrong Breath* can raiſe ſo great *a Fire*, where they had not one *ſpark of Truth* to begin upon, it may be thought both reaſonable and requiſite to *ſtop their Mouths* in Time, before the *Infection ſpreads*; by deſiring them to reſolve this ſingle *Queſtion*, *What they meant by High Church? What is the Crime, the Aggravation thereof?* But ſince their Words ſeldom mean any thing more than *Malice and Miſchief*, I will make bold to tell them the Perſons they deſign to *Calumniate*; can think of no other ground for that *Denomination* they intend to do it by, than a ſincere *Reſolution*, ſo far as *Divine Aſſiſtance* ſhall enable them; *to walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame thing*;
Phil. 3. 16. Regularly obſerve what the *Ancient*, and from them our preſent *Church* injoins, without becoming *Properties* to the *Popular Intrigues*, and *Paultry Intereſts* of Self-*deſigning Men*; which
v. 18, 19. ſuch as do, not to mention the ſevere Part of St. *Paul*'s Charge there, *Enemies to the Croſs of Chriſt*, &c. I ſhall only charge with his laſt Words, of *minding Earthly things*.

Theſe ſeveral *United Strengths*, you know, Sir, look'd as threat'ning as a *Perſian Army*, and talk'd as big; and when they came to the puſh, were as eaſily defeated; for tho' they cou'd procure *Diſſolutions* at Pleaſure, and thought to weary out the *Country* by the Fatigue, as well as charge of *Winter Elections*, which would have been ſeverely complain'd of in former *Reigns*; yet all was to the repeating of their own *Diſappointments*; the more they ſtrugled, the more they engag'd their *oppoſites* (generally too negligent till they ſee themſelves upon the very brink of *Ruine*) to exert their Force, and Fruſtrate the many little Deſigns every ſinking *Cauſe* is prone to lay hold on; whereof the *Kentiſh Legion* is a doughty inſtance, and like the depth of their other *Politicks*, to countenance ſuch a Compoſition of *Fools* and *Madmen*; yet what a noiſe did they make for Two or Three Weeks, and what pretty inſinuations were hinted, in favour of the moſt *Arbitrary Deſtructive No-*

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tian ever yet ſtarted in our Nation, that the *Mob* muſt judge of their *Repreſentatives Proceedings*, and force a *Compliance* to *Superiour Demands*, without *Debating*, or contrary to their *Debated Reſolves*. None but Men frighted out of their Senſes, could think, catching at ſuch *Straws* would bear them up; yet the conceit look'd ſo far, as the *Poet Laureat* was engag'd to ſing forth this *Legions Encomium*; 'tis not for that, I hope his *Bays* are continu'd; ſome, I am ſure, thought they deſerv'd to have *wither'd* with the *Subject*. The *Black Liſt* made juſt ſuch another *Potgun Report*, and during the like time of *Mob Clamours*, 'twas not ſafe to open againſt it; but the noiſe being over, and Matters of Fact impartially repreſented, it appear'd the extremity of *Fanatick Impudence*; ſuch a *digeſt* of right down *Lyes*, or perverted *Truths*, as no leſs than an *Infernal Legion* muſt aſſiſt in compiling; and the Deſign was agreeable, that by bringing an *Odium* upon thoſe many worthy *Gentlemen*, who had labour'd ſo much, and ſtrugled ſo hard for our *Nations true Intereſt*; their *Harebrain'd* Party might once more Command the *Steerage*, and run all into Confuſion; and ſince this, Sir, hath ever been, and will ever be their practiſe: Give me leave to continue, and conclude your Trouble with Expoſtulating.

Fourthly, *How inconſiſtent it is with all Rules of Intereſt, Reaſon and Policy; to permit the Publick Defiances, and private Undertakings of ſuch Experienc'd implacable Factions; and not rather prohibit them from having any thing to do, or concerning themſelves with the Adminſtration of Affairs.* Mr. *Baxter*, in the *Hiſtory* of his *Life*, giving an Account of their, the *Diſſenters Caſe*, in the beginning of *King* William's *Reign*, "Tell us "among other thing, how it was fairly repreſented by an im- "partial *Hand*, and *ſtrenuouſly argued* in the compaſs of a "*Sheet of Paper*; which being liable to be loſt, he thought "himſelf oblig'd to inſert it there; whether he was the *Au-* "*thor*, is not expreſs'd, tho' by the looſe way of arguing, 'tis "very probable; the whole conſiſts of *Four Queſtions*, whereof "the Fourth ſtands thus. *Abridg.* 638.

Queſtion Fourth: *Whether it be reaſonable to Exclude, all that in every thing Conform not to the Church of* England, *from any Part or Share of the Civil Power? All that in every thing*, is too Univerſal a *Charge*, but will ſerve the better for carrying on *Id.* 646.

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the *Cavil*; which in the whole management, is handled with as much tenderneſs, as a *Country Fellow* doth *Thorns* when he wants his *hedging Gloves*; not a Branch touch'd for fear of hurting their *Fingers*. Firſt he ſaith, *The Difference or Non-Conformity of many, is ſo minute, that it would be as reaſonable to Exclude all whoſe Hair is not of this or that Colour.* 'Tis an uſual Aſſurance their ſeveral Parties never fail of, to agravate and extenuate as it ſerves their turns; is it no more than an *Hairs* concern? Time was, when it coſt many *Heads*, and among the reſt, a *Royal one*, worth more than *Ten Thouſand*. *Secondly*, His next *Topick* is from as frivolous an inſtance; for tho' it would be no wiſe *Conſtitution to Ordain, That whoſoever thinks it lawful to Eat Black Pudding, ſhall be capable of no Office*, &c. Yet when when we find Men ſo *Bloody minded*, as to move *Sedition*, and raiſe *Rebellion* one way or other, continually at work, to diſturb and ſubvert the *Government*, ought not the *Power* in being to keep them both *out* and *under?* Thirdly, But *they tremble to think of the Excluſive Sacramental Teſt:* Yet in the promoting of it, their old *Whig Friends* were more earneſt than any, whilſt ſeveral of the *Church* Party lay under no little *Calumny* for deſiring ſome other expedient might be thought of, to Exclude the *Papiſts from all Civil and Military Employments:* Yet why ſhould the *Teſt* be more dangerous in our
A. 648. *Church* than their *Conventicles*, who earneſtly preſs'd for a *Clauſe, that any Man ſhould be qualify'd for an Office or place of Truſt, who could produce a Certificate of his Receiving, according to the Church of* England, *or any other Proteſtant Congregation*; could they have obtain'd the paſſing that, all had gone well, tho' brought down to the *Keeper of an Ale-houſe*, which I find not requir'd as ſuch, however alledg'd; but now 'tis very *amazing*, &c. and with more reaſon to us, that they ſhould ſo peremptorily exerciſe their *Directory Excluſions*, contrary to our *Saviour's* Expreſs'd Command, that *the Tares and Wheat ſhould both grow together until the Harveſt.* Fourthly, The urging *uſeful Qualifications*, is likewiſe to as little purpoſe; for 'tis not only *able*, but *honeſt* Men every *Government* ſtands in need of; whereas, *Good Parts* and *Bad Principles* have been ever found moſt deſtructive to *Humane Society*; and if their *Abilities* out-reach others in any thing, 'tis only *to do Miſchief*, which is no laudable *Recommendation.*

Theſe

These are Mr. *Baxters* strenuous Arguments, by which he would perswade us, that their *Snakes* have no *Venom*; tho' we take never so many into our *Bosom*, they shall not only lie *quietly*, but be truly *obliging* and *beneficial*; but if they who have formerly try'd them, can *determin* the contrary, as *Hudibras* appeals to the whole *Nations* sad *Experience*, in somewhat a like *Comparison*; 'tis too imposing to think we should for ever be prevail'd upon by *empty Promises* and *Protestations*, altogether void of sincere *purposes* and real *intentions*; and therefore, Sir, let me beg your patience so far, as to Undertake the *Affirmative* of Mr. *Baxter*'s Questions; and if I do not make it more Evident than he, or whoever else his *Author* is, the Negative, shall, with ending your trouble herein, engage never to do it more; and because 'tis propounded by way of *Question*, I shall continue the same Course and Question.

First, Whether matter of Fact hath not all along spoke the quite contrary, any of that *Party* ever got into *Power*, and had not one way or other a *Clandestine* regard, for something opposit, or prejudicial to the *Power* he serv'd? Neither shall I in Confirmation hereof, run so far back, as to show that our *Royal Martyrs Ruine*, was next under the Will of *Heaven*, from too great a Confidence in his *English Puritans*, and *Scotch Covenanters*; nor how little Faith *Charles* II. found in his *Proselyted Fanaticks*, or *King James* in the *Window-hearted Protestations* of his *Addressing Dissenters*: But come to the late *Revolutions* and *Toleration* then *Indulg'd* them, which being the great Idol of their *Minds*, and what they had all along so earnestly sued for, what *Returns* might not be Expected upon such *Gracious Concessions*? Might it not now be thought, they should exert the utmost of their *Endeavours*, to moderate every *Passion*, allay every *Heat*, suppress every disorderly *Transport of Soul*? In a word, wholly abandoning all jarrings, all animosities, and contentious Disputes, *study to be quiet, and mind their own Business*, leaving the *Government* to those it belongs unto: How would such a Carriage as this have stop'd the Mouths of all *Gainsayers*? Been a full *Conviction*, that their *Pretences* were sincere, and *Faith unfeigned*? But *Light and Darkness* are not more opposite, than the whole course of their Proceedings, to this laudable Frame of *Spirit*; and have made it clear even to *Demonstration*, that the *Religious Liberty* which with so much *Cant*, and *whining*

importunity they interceeded for, was only to gain a freer Admission into the *Civil Power*, be the better enabled to assist their *Commonwealth Grandees*, in turning every thing *Topsy Turvy*: Neither is it any Obstruction that those *Grandees* of theirs, are generally professed Enemies to all *Reveal'd Religion*, *Atheists or Deists* at the least; never come within the Walls of any of their *Assemblies*, unless for want of a *Play* at *Bridges-street*, they turn aside for something of like Diversion in *Russel Court*; this I say makes no Obstruction, since 'tis no longer a Secret, that in concerns of *State*, all Respect to *Religion* is set aside; whoever abets a *Godly Party*, shall in spight of the loudest Guilt be a *Godly Man*: And this, Sir, common Observation, must have likewise inform'd you, that when ever these *Zealots* of ours (who have too great affinity with those of the *Jews*) appear'd either in *County* or *Corporation*, with more than usual Vigor; it was for some Person of known *dis-affection* to the *Establish'd Powers*, both *Sacred* and *Civil*, upon so Signal a concern, no *Stone* must be left unturn'd; no *false Stories* or detracting *Insinuations* against the *Competitors* unattempted; and if they can be wrought up to it, the *Mob* instigated to espouse their Cause, and deter every one who will not be as Mad as themselves, from appearing. Now, What *Power*, I beseech you, should endure such *Insolencies* as these, or Men of Sense give such Provocations? *Sic notus Ulisses?* Were they so *moderate* during their several *Usurpations?* Or can we think the *Cat*, tho' Transform'd, will not, if occasion serves, turn to its *old Game?*

Quest. 2. What *prejudice* would accrew to the *Dissenters* from being *Restrain'd?* There are not a few inconveniencies arise to the *Publick*, for that such Persons as are least fit for Business, are most forward to get into it; whilst Men of *Judgment* and *true Sense*, consider, both the *Obligations* of *Conscience*, which tye them to a just discharge of whatsoever they undertake, and the multitude of *Interests* and *Factions*, which will never permit any Man of *Conscience* to discharge his Duty as he ought; for which Reason, a *Bene Latuit*, tho' always thought a Wise Rule, was never more proper than now, when our *Quack Divines*, and *Quack States-men* are so pragmatical with their new *Prescriptions* of *Religion* and *Government*, as if there had been never any thing of either before in the World; but whatever

hath

hath been, as they manage Matters, there can ſcarce be any thing of either long. Now if our *Diſſenters* were not of this *Innovation* humour, wholly *given to change*, how happy might every individual among them, enjoy himſelf *under his own Vine, and under his own Figtree?* Follow his own *Dark Lanthorn Light*, and *hobble* on in his own *uncooth Paths*, to find *Heaven* by *Self-aſſurance*. When the *Parliament*, ſome time after the *Act of Uniformity*, thought fit to paſs that other againſt *Conventicles*: I was told this paſſage from a very good Hand; ſoon after it happen'd, a Body of the *Diſſenters* came full Mouth'd to the *old Duke of* Albermarl, *General Monk*, (who'tis probable had made them among many other obnoxious Perſons, ſome Promiſes in order to their own ſecurity in the *Nations Settlement*) Remonſtrating their deſign'd *Perſecution*, that they could not ſerve GOD according to their own *Conſciences*, without incurring ſuch *Penalties* of *Purſe* and *Perſon*, as were *unexpreſſible*; whereto, the weary *General* calmly reply'd, *Gentlemen*, I take the thing quite otherwiſe; you have a *Liberty* to do as you pleaſe in your own *Families*, with any other *Friends* or *Neighbours*, not exceeding five, which we thought a ſufficient Proviſion for the *Liberty* of ſuch as are truly Conſciencious; but if nothing will pleaſe you leſs than full *Congregations* and large *Aſſemblies*, it ſeems to have more in it of *Popularity*, than *true Piety*. This doubtleſs, was a true *State* of the *Queſtion*, and too truly *Stated*, to give them *Satisfaction*.

But there is one further Argument very much *ad Hominem* to our *Lay Diſſenters*, who being generally Men of *Trade* and *Buſineſs*, by concerning themſelves in *Publick*, have been found proportionably damnify'd in their own *private Affairs*; in a fix'd *Magiſtracy*, things go on in a known courſe, and are eaſily diſpatch'd; but *Caballs* and *Intrigues*, take up a great deal of time, and cauſe no little *Expence*. To go one ſtep further: Can any thing be more inſolent, than for ſuch Men as have already *Shipwrack'd* their *own Fortunes*, or plung'd themſelves beyond the poſſibility of a *Retreive*, to be moſt pragmatical in finding fault, and Correcting the *Errata's* of *Government*; *Liberty and Property* is never out of their Mouths, when they are every Day in danger of a *Goal*, and all their *Property* is from their *Party*, or honeſter Men, who will loſe it. Such *Deſperados* as theſe, *Tully* obſerves to have been the moſt *Peſtilent Mo-*

ness of Sedition in their Commonwealth; *Qui propter implicatas eorum res familiares communi incendio maluint, quam sua deflagare*; smother their own *Calamitous* Condition, in a general Ruine of the whole *Body Politick*. The same *Author* mentions another sort of odd Disposition'd *People*, who generally associate with these; *Qui propter insitum quendam animi furorem, in Discordiis Civium ac Seditione pascuntur*; made up altogether of *Faction* and *Fury*, which they took in originally with their *Mothers Milk*, and continu'd as Restless in the whole course of their *Lives*, as a *troubled Sea*: Now these Two, tho' most unhappy, are the predominant *Qualities* in our great *Reformers* of *Church* and *State*; which having once so dismally reduc'd into a *Chaos* of *Anarchy* and *Confusion*: I am only to ask farther.

Third Question, *Whether not only the well-being, but Being of our Establish'd Power doth not require the Exclusion of such dangerous People, from having any Part or Share therein?* 'Tis what most *Writers* of our *Ecclesiastical Distractions*, since the *Reformation* have complain'd of; that being altogether beset by Two violent Extreams, *Romanists* and *Puritans*, which last, are now Multiply'd into that *Heterogenious Body of Dissenters*; we have been so little upon an equal Guard against both at the same time, that when ever any ground was gain'd upon one, there was as much lost by some silent *Encroachments* of the other, not to look back upon the *Hampton-Court Conference*, how all Resolves thereupon were quash'd by *the* 5th *of* November *Plot*; and the *Root and Branch Extirpation*, with that most *Execrable* 30. of *Jan.* gave the other too just Ground of *Recriminating*, that they had out Acted whatever the *Jesuit* could propound in *Theory*; so that upon *King Charles* II. *Return*, their *Loyalty* superseded all prejudices to their *Religion*; and for that it was a *Healing* time, they had Interest enough to make several Attempts for *Tolerating the Dissenters*, not doubting, but by degrees it might bring in themselves; wherein King *James* gave them both so scandalous an *Ascendant*, as they seem'd to have Contracted a Friendship at the same rate, with *Herod* and *Pilate*, and to the same end too: The late *Revolution* as it wholly broke that Knot, so it exactly confirm'd what we are now discoursing of, care being taken that the one having sufficient *Restraints* upon their *Liberty* by precedent *Laws*, should have a *forfeiture* of their *Property* annex'd, without giving up what

they

they would impose upon the World, with that Swelling Title of a *Catholick Conscience*, whilst the other had a full Swinge of their Liberty indulg'd them, without the least *Restraint* as to the *Civil Power*; thus *ill Crucem*, &c. not that I would have the former Tolerated, for the same reason the *Dutch* refus'd it at first; because they will tolerate none among them. But then, Is there not a parity of Reason, they should be both equally excluded from intermedling with the *Government*? Have not their *Designs* been as *desperate*, and more *destructively* accomplish'd? To cry we are all *Protestants*, is all *Cant*, and will revive the former *Recrimination* of a certain *Gentleman*, who recounting the several *Factions* into which these *Protestants* are divided, even to *Fifth-monarchy*, and *Muggletonian Protestants*, adds *Protestants of Forty One*, and *Protestants of Forty Eight*. The *Question* is, Whether the Government can be safe, if Men of such *Principles* and *Practises* are suffer'd to be continually at Work with their *Party-making* Animosities and *Seditious* underminings, *Slanderous* Insinuations and *Incorporated Lies*; which they abound no less with, than the *Father of them* himself, and to as ill purposes. Surely Sir, (to put an end to your trouble, without the addition of an Apology) Since our *Nation* is become an *Amsterdam* of *Religions*, 'tis requisite, we should have so much of the *Amsterdam Government*, as not to let the *Tolerated* be our *Governours*. I am with all Sincerity,

Octob. *ult.* 1702.

Sir,

Yours, &c.

——m——n.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 4. Line 2. for *Vein* Read View; p. 13. l. 25. for *Priviledges* r. Principles; p. 13. l. *ult.* for *Firms* r. Forms; p. 14. l. 4. for *whom* r. whence; p. 17. l. 10. for *his* r. this.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR,

THese *Papers* were sent to Town according to their *Date*, and the *Printer* was going to Work, but I stop'd his Hand upon hearing with how much *Vigor* and *Unanimity* the propos'd Design was prosecated in your *House*, Resolving to Sit still, and *Praise* GOD, there should be so little need of pressing forward so good a Work.

That your *Honourable* and *Pious* Intentions should meet so great an Obstruction elsewhere, and from part of such a *Bench* too, was less surprizing to me, than most others, who wish well to the *Nations Settlement*: Indeed 'twas something of Satisfaction, to see Men have so much Sincerity, as to *Act* themselves, appear what they really are; yet withal, it induc'd me to comply with the *Stationers*, and some other Friends *Request*, to resume my former Resolves of *Printing* these few Sheets; and the rather for that Matter of *Fact*, hath now clear'd me from what I was sensible would otherwise have expos'd me most to censure. In the mean while, I cannot keep out of my Thoughts, that *Melancholy Exclamation* of a Devout Person; *Bone Deus in quæ Tempora nos Reservasti?*